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T H E
Secret History

O F T H E

White Staff,

B E I N G A N .

ACCOUNT

O F

A F F A I R S

Under the CONDUCT of some

Late Ministers,

And of what might probably have
happen'd if Her MAJESTY
had not Died.

P A R T II.

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N :

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T H E

Secret History

O F T H E

White-Staff.

P A R T II.

HAVING, in the Close of the first Volume of this History, given the Readers some Ground to expect, the latter Part of the Account should, in process of Time, be publish'd, in order to perfect the *Secret History* of the Management of Affairs, and of the Conduct of some late Ministers; and finding the general Satisfaction which the first Part

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of this Work has given, Justice requires that I should go on to finish the same.

Yet I cannot be said to go on where I left off, but it will be needful to give a brief Recapitulation of a Circumstance or two, which is but hinted lightly at in the first Part, in order to preserve the Connection of the Historical Relation of things, and, with the greater Clearness, to introduce the Matters which are behind.

In order to this, the Reader may please to recollect, that in Page the 19th of the former Part of this History, these Words are to be found; “ We
 “ are to note, that when the Victory
 “ of the *White-Staff* was, to outward
 “ Appearance, compleat, and the dis-
 “ plac’d Party seem’d, even by their
 “ own Confession, to have nothing
 “ left to do but to despair; then was
 “ the real Conflict greater than ever,
 “ and he had a greater Difficulty to
 “ withhold the Rage of those who
 “ were for using their Advantages with
 “ Rigour, and entirely crushing, ru-
 “ ining, and oppressing those whom
 “ he had reduced, than he had had
 “ before either to reduce them, or to
 “ preserve himself. “ The

“ The *Staff* had hitherto proceeded
 “ with a steady Resolution to maintain
 “ the Authority and Power he possessed,
 “ and had, as before, successfully
 “ frustrated and disappointed all the
 “ Measures of those who would have
 “ overthrown and pulled him down:
 “ But it was apparent, that Victory
 “ being obtained, he had no farther
 “ Schemes of Opposition to pursue;
 “ that it was not in his Design to crush
 “ and ruine the Persons he struggled
 “ with, or to erect any Dominion over
 “ them as *Britains*; that he had no
 “ State Tyranny to erect, no secret
 “ Designs to betray the Constitution,
 “ and this Negative introduced a War
 “ between him and those, who, to outward
 “ Appearance, were in the same
 “ Interest with him, which at last broke
 “ out into a Flame, which produced un-
 “ looked for Events, which will be part of
 “ the Subject of the rest of this History.

It need not be added here, for
 Explanation of things, that the Ministry
 of the late Queen's Majesty, upon every
 Occasion, as they found needful, had Re-
 course to that old Maxim of Politicks,
*That Men might be made use of when they
 can serve us, without any real Design to serve
 them.*

them. In a Nation guided by Parties, as this has too long, too often, and too much been, this Maxim becomes more than ordinarily necessary; but in the Case of the *Staff*, this was more particularly so here also, than at any Time in the Years since the Revolution.

A little Retrospection upon the History of the Times, would give us frequent Examples of this Maxim, and of its being, with great Justice and Sincerity, put in Execution; as in the late intestine Broils of this Nation, when King *Charles I.* arm'd and employ'd the Papists against his Protestant, but malecontent, or rebellious Subjects, yet had himself no Inclination to *Popery*; nor was it any thing more or less than this, that the King, being press'd by the victorious Arms of the Parliament Forces, accepted of the Assistance of his Popish Subjects: There is no Question but the Papists had Designs in their View, for the Interest and Advancement of their Party, and perhaps of their Religion too, in all they did; but as a Man drowning, accepts of the Help of the worst Enemy he has, to pull him out of the Water, it is not to be expected he should ask him what Religion he
is

is of, or whether he has not some ill Design upon him in saving his Life. King *Charles II.* in Pursuit of the same natural Principle, gladly accepted of the Assistance of a *Presbyterian* Army, and submitted to take the Solemn and National League and Covenant in *Scotland*, in order to reinstate him in his Dominions; and afterwards made use of a *Presbyterian* General and Army for his Restoration; yet was there very little Cause to suspect that Monarch of inclining to turn *Presbyterian*, or of favouring the *Presbyterian* Interest in his Heart.

I might descend to the particular Time I am writing about, when, upon a former Difference between the old and modern *Whigs*, the former, if *Fame lies not*, scrupled not to accept the Coalition of the *Jacobite* Interest, in order to overthrow the latter, and push them out of the Administration; a Truth so well known to his Grace the *D. of M——b*, and so recent in his Memory, as that he neither can be ignorant of the Fact, or forget the Circumstances which went so nigh, and bid so fair to have supplanted him in the Favour of his Royal Mistress, and to
 have

have dismiss'd him from the Service of his Country by his Friends, at least a Year before it was effected by his Enemies.

I have many Tracts written about the Years 1708-9-10, to prove this; and a long Recapitulation thereof is found in an anonymous Pamphlet of that Time, which, on that very Account, made much Noise, entituled, *The October Club*, written, as was said, by the late Sir G. H——

If the Author of *The Memoirs of Scotland* says true, the Example reaches thither; for in the History of the late Invasion there, speaking of the Peoples Aversion to the Union, he has these Words: *Nay, the Presbyterians and Cameronians were willing to pass over the Objection of his (the Pretender) being a Papist, pag. 343.* and yet this Author does not suppose thereby, that the *Presbyterians* and *Cameronians* were really Friends to the *Jacobite* Interest; but that such was their Aversion and Abomination of the Union, that they would join with their Enemies so far as might assist them to overthrow the main Evil, and preserve themselves from the capital Grievance of the Union.

These

These Examples would be sufficient to prove the Injustice of that Calumny raised on the *White Staff*, viz. that he was in the Interest of the Pretender, because he made use of the Assistance of *Jacobite* Instruments, in the necessary Opposition which he was oblig'd to make to the Party who set up against him ; but the Complaints of the *Jacobites* themselves, and the Length they went afterwards, when they found themselves disappointed, are stronger Evidences upon the Point I am upon, than any thing else that can be offered amount even to a Demonstration, that the Designs of the *Staff* were all along so remote from a *Jacobite* Interest, that nothing less than the effectual Ruine of their whole Party, would have been the Consequence of the Measures the last was engaged in.

It must be granted, that the *Jacobites* had very just Cause to resent the Conduct of the *Staff*, and that they were dup'd and bubbled in the Beginning of these Measures, in the grossest and most obvious Manner ; but as they had much more Reason to blame their own Credulity, than any other Cause ; so neither can they charge the *Staff*

B

with

with any Breach of Articles with; or promises to them, he having never entered into the least Engagement with them; but they being led by the Situation of their own Affairs, to embrace every Cloud, and follow the *Igni fatui* of their Imaginations, they fell in with the first Notion of a Court Revolution upon this Foundation, *viz.* that every publick Division was to their Advantage; that their Circumstances might be better, but could not be worse; that whatever tended to it was their Business to serve Voluntier with any, and with every Party that would entertain them.

Upon this Foot, they came in and join'd with the *Staff*, as they had before come in with the *Whigs* against the antient *Staff*, who went before him.

So that the *Jacobites* coming in with the *Staff*, was the Consequence of the Nature of their Circumstances at that Time, as the *Staff* receiving them, and making use of them, was the Consequence of his; that there was never any Concert between them, either of Affection to their Interest or Party as *Jacobites*, appears to me very evident, by the Testimony and Conduct of the

Jacobites themselves, which belongs to this part of our History to relate.

If this Discourse should a little discriminate the Persons who really were, as well as those who *were not*, in the *Jacobite* Interest among the late Administrators; as it must be placed to the Account of their own Conduct, it is hoped they will pardon the Historian, whose Business is Truth, and who designs no other Satyrs on the Gentlemen, than the relating of their own Conduct makes natural to the Story.

When the *Jacobites* found their Way into the publick Administration, *for no one denies but that some might do so*, they had no more Patience or Power to conceal their Intentions and Resolutions to improve that Advantage for the Service of the Pretender, than they had to conceal their Joy at that Advantage.

Now although this abundantly exposed their Weakness, and want of Policy in the Management of their Party; yet it also convinc'd the Ministry, that they had some Necessity to keep up the Vanity, and to give them (the *Jacobites*) all the seeming Encouragement to hope for the End they aimed

at, that could come from it, with doing nothing else really for them,

That which was most wonderful in all this Part was, that the whole Body of the *Jacobites* in *Britain* were capable of being impos'd upon to such a Degree; and that it was possible the *STAFF* could use them as Tools to such a Length, and not take one real Step in their Favour, as it is certain he never did; and yet they should be so stupid, as that to the last four Months, or thereabouts, to believe him in their Interest.

It was the constant Expression of a late Noble Lord among the *Jacobites*, who had more Penetration of this kind than his said whole Party, and who frequently express'd his Resentment with more Warmth than ordinary; *God d——n him!* said his Lordship, *what has he ever done for us? Has he not fed us with good Words and fine Notions all along; told us, it was not a Time to enter upon the Question; and that to mention any thing of the Pretender, would alarm the Nation, and break all the publick Measures? Has he done any thing but made Fools of us? I am satisfied he is a Spy upon us for the House of Hanover;*
be.

he is no more for the Pretender, than he is for the Grand Seignior, by G——d.

But the Party would not believe it, and the *Staff* had such an Ascendant over them, whether by Money or other Management, that they did all his Work, came into all his Measures, and became the most obsequious Wretches in ruining their own Cause, that any Minister of State could possibly desire; never Men were brought in to act so directly contrary to the Interest they profess'd to own; never Men were so handsomely trepann'd by their own Stupidity, or so nicely made Tools to cut the Throat of their own Measures, as the *Jacobites* were, by the Policy and Management of the *Staff*; and yet had the Folly or Misfortune to believe to the last, or within a little of it, that their *PAM* was *Trump*, and that the Game of the Pretender was going on.

This Stupidity of the *Jacobites*, gave them up entirely into the Captivity of the *STAFF*; and there was nothing so foolish, so ridiculous, or so essential to the Destruction of the Pretender's Interest, which they were not capable

pable of coming into, with a real Opinion or Possession, *it can be called no less*, that they were all the while taking the best Measures in the World to bring him to the Throne; they might as well have said, to the *Gallows*.

It is true, that this Confidence of theirs gave an invincible Argument to those People, who alarm'd the whole Nation with the Apprehensions of the Pretender's coming; and, had the *Jacobites* been allow'd to exercise common Service, the Argument for the Danger of the Pretender had been unanswerable; but this requires to be spoke to by it self.

I return to the Conduct of the *Jacobites*, and have eminently prov'd, they have been dup'd in all this Affair, in which either the *WHITE STAFF* shew'd the most exquisite piece of Management, that has been acted by any Minister of State in this or the last Age, or the whole *Jacobite* Party must be allowed to be the easiest People, and the most easy to be bubbled, that ever pretended to be call'd a Party: The Story is as follows.

There was in that Part of *Britain*, which is famous for having the fewest
Fools,

Fools, and the most———— a Sett of leading Men, whose Interest among their Tenants and Dependants was far from being contemptible, and who, being avowedly and professedly in the *Jacobite* Interest, were therefore counted dangerous Persons, very many ways, to the Repose of the Nation; they were look'd upon as a People, who, upon Occasion, were able to make the Government very uneasy, and who, there was Reason to believe, wanted nothing but the Occasion.

The first Measures taken with these Men were, if possible, to get them sent up by their Country to the Parliament; Nothing pleas'd them in the World like it; the *Whigs* resented it in the highest Degree; the *Staff* was reproach'd with fixing a List, not only pitching upon some of the meanest of the Nobility to represent the rest; but distinguishing the profess'd Enemies of the Protestant Succession to serve in Parliament, where the farther Security of that Succession was to be one of the great Works they were to do.

Under this Reproach however, the Persons were nam'd, and sent up, and the *Jacobites* in that part of the Nation, dis-

discovered not only their Wickedness in desiring, but their egregious Folly in expecting, that sending up so pitiful a Fragment of the Heads of their Faction, should set their Cause on Foot, even in the Parliament it self; no Enthusiastick Calculator of Times was ever then so big with his Lines and Numbers, and his having set the Day for the general Conflagration, as these blinded Creatures appeared with the Opinion, that the Pretender was to be introduced by the Voice of the Legislature; and that Her Majesty also to demit in his Favour; and all this, because their List was in the Number; and that 3 or 4 at most of those, who they called *Patriots*, were to sit in the House.

When it was told the *STAFF* what Offence this gave on one Side, and what gasconading the *Jacobites* made on the other, all he was heard to say upon that Head was, *Let them come up.*

They must be very weak sighted, who could not gather by that Answer, what the true Design of the *Staff* was in obtaining that List; and it was but a few Days after they came up, but they

my Lord _____ who was a Partner in his Disappointment, that very Day that the Address was drawn up, he gave some Vent to his Disturbance in very warm Expressions; he told him, That it was an Affront to their Nation, that they should be chosen out to do a Work against their Allegiance; that now he plainly saw they had been abused; that he would never have stirred out of his Country, if he had thought this had been the Business of their being sent up to Parliament; that they were bubb'd and dup'd in the highest Degree, and that it was not to be born; then he flew out against the *White Staff*, as the Person that had drawn him into this Snare; and that he had been flatter'd with the fine Story of serving his Country and Family; by which he understood the promoting the Interest of the Royal Family, and of K—
 J— VIII. so he call'd him, the Pretender: And now he not only found that he was deluded in the main Expectation; but that the *Staff* himself had singled him out, to put his Hand to the making that cursed Address, which had ruined him with his

Friends, and ruined his Interest with the Pretender for ever; that he was trick'd every Way in it; for that if he had stay'd at Home, he would have gone to the Hills, and had a fair Day for it; but here was nothing to be done; to refuse, would be to go to the Tower; and to comply, was to betray his King, &c. He told him, he had spoken to the *Staff* of it that Morning in Terms so plain, as that he might easily understand him; but that the *Staff* laugh'd in his Face, and pretended to value himself in having done them that piece of Honour, in making them appear considerable in the House, and letting their Country hear their Names in an Account so particularly agreeable to the Queen; but he did not notice to them, how it would make them hated among their Friends, and make the Pretender believe they had betray'd him.

My Lord, *reply'd the other*, you are moved indeed at this Treachery, and so am I also; but you don't see all the Wheels of this Machin; we are all trick'd and bubbl'd from the Beginning; the Policy of this damn'd *Staff* has ruin'd us all; and we are
wheed-

they saw it themselves; and one of them, now Defunct, openly swore, they were bubbl'd; and that if he had seen the Design, he would never have come out of his own Country.

I remember very well, in a Conference between two Persons of the first Rank, this Matter was mentioned, and one of the noble Persons expressing himself with some Warmth at the imposing, *as he was pleas'd to call it*, on the Nation so much, as to bring up such Persons to Parliament; the other coolly ask'd this Question, Are they Men dangerous for the Interest they have in their Country? yes, my Lord, says the other, very dangerous, and the Pretender values himself very much upon their Interest there; then replies the second, Pray, my Lord, can they do least Harm here or there? His Lordship paused a while, Are you sincere in that, my Lord, says the first Person? In Faith I did not see into it; I protest it is the best Step my Lord T———— ever took of the kind; I will never say a Word more against it.

It was but a very few Days 'ere, as I said above, the Persons themselves

saw this too on the Occasion following. The P———t assembl'd, and the first thing done, as is frequent in like Cases, was an Address from the Peers to thank Her Majesty for Her gracious Assurance of Her Royal Favour, and Her Concern for the publick Good, express'd in Her Speech to both Houses from the Throne; making a most dutiful Return of their Zeal and Affection for Her Majesty's Person and Government; and a Tender of their utmost Services for Defence of Her Majesty's just Title to the Crown, and standing by Her, and adhering steadily to Her Interest against all Pretenders whatsoever, and against Her Enemies both at home and abroad.

If these *Jacobite* P—s, who had the Folly to dream of other Business to be done that Session, were uneasy at the first Motion of this Address, they were thunder-struck and confounded when they saw themselves singled out and named of the Committee to draw up the Address; then it was that they curst their own Stupidity, and particularly the Person mention'd before shew'd his Passion in a Manner not easily to be express'd, when meeting
my

was possible, and quite broke the Measures of the Pretender in *Scotland*; rendring his most considerable Dependents uselefs to his Interest, and suspected to one another.

If this was the Case of these Men, it is certain no Step could be taken by them more to the Disadvantage of their Party, than to suffer themselves to be sent up to Parliament; for whatever they might be at Home, themselves were convinc'd that they were insignificant here, and not capable to do the least Service to their Master the Pretender.

True it is, *as above*, that the *Jacobites* coming so readily into the Service of the *STAFF*, was an Incident which had some evil Consequences, and particularly, that it gave Encouragement to their artificial Calumny, which some industriously strove to make popular, *viz.* That the *Staff* was for the Pretender; nay, that the Queen Her self was for the *Pretender*; things equally absurd, and the one as probable as the other: The *Jacobites* not being able to contain their Joy, were not only weak enough to believe it, but, in their first Transports, deliver'd themselves in
boast:

boasting Terms to one another, that their King, as they styl'd the Pretender, would certainly be restor'd, even by the Ministry themselves; and so assured they thought themselves to be of this, that, as I have been told, they wrote to that Purpose into *France*; and where they met with the greatest, though not the first, Mortification in that Affair, having their Opinion question'd by the King himself; for when the Marquis *de* ——— reading a Letter to the *French* King, which the Pretender had receiv'd from ——— to the same Purpose as above, *viz.* the *Staff* was in their Interest; His most Christian Majesty smiling, answered, *They were young Men, and did not know the STAFF.*

I shall confess, that the *Jacobites* thus foolishly and imprudently boasting of the Pretender's Interest in the *Staff* and the Queen, was the best Argument that those Men had to use, who politically rais'd that foolish Calumny among the People, and who would have it generally believ'd, that the *Staff* was in the Interest of the Pretender; but Reason required, that when they found the same *Jacobites* dividing from the *STAFF*,
and

wheedled in to be the Instrument of our own Disappointment, by a Management which none of us had Penetration enough to take notice. “ You
 “ know, my Lord, that you had engaged to the ——— to be ready
 “ whenever His M—y should give us Notice; and that he depended
 “ upon our Interest, and those of my Lord ———, and my Lord ———,
 “ and the Earl of ———, and the Duke of ———, and we were
 “ able to make such a Stand for him, as should have turn’d the Scale of
 “ things, and, at least, brought the Seat of the War to the Doors of our
 “ Enemies; but being flattered into a Notion, that the Work was to be
 “ done another Way; and made believe, that the Queen Her self was
 “ willing to resign the Crown to *the Pretender*; and that our only
 “ Way was to fall in with the *Staff*, and make our Interest at
 “ Court: By this foolish Notion, which you know our Countryman,
 “ my Lord ——— put into our Heads, we were prepared to be
 “ made Fools of, and to be taken with the Court Bait; for the Scheme of
 “ the

“ the *Staff* was only this, to have us
 “ perswaded with fine Words to come
 “ up to Parliament, and to take it for
 “ an Honour to be chosen out of all
 “ the great Men of our Country, and
 “ the like; whereas the Drift of the
 “ *Staff* was only to get us up here sepa-
 “ rated from our Friends and Interest,
 “ where the Power is quite out of our
 “ Hands, and where we are not able
 “ to stir Hand or Foot in the Service
 “ we are engaged in.

“ Nor is this all; but here we are
 “ brought into things, not contrary to
 “ our Principles only, but such as will
 “ ruine our Reputation at Home, and
 “ with the K— abroad, and make us
 “ uncapable of doing him Service.

Their Complaints grew afterwards
 more publick; by which they not only
 discover'd their Resentment, but let
 into the Secret of that Management
 which drew them up to Parliament;
 and let us see, that while many People
 were expressing their Resentment at
 the *Staff*, for bringing such People to
 sit in the House; the *Staff*, if he really
 obtained them to be chosen; for Hi-
 story is silent is that Part also, he did
 the greatest Service to the Publick that
 was

and joining in with those who sup-
planted him, they should have inferr'd,
that the *Staff* had convinc'd the *Jaco-*
bites, that they were mistaken.

But Reproaches are seldom taken off
by the same Hands which lay them
on; the *Jacobites* are the only Testi-
mony in this Case, who, finding the
Staff not for their Turn, tack about
from him, and, with more Subtilty
than they had been Masters of before,
chose a new Sett of Men to form an
Interest with, and resolved to try whe-
ther they could make themselves a-
mends upon the *Staff*, by setting up a
new Party against him, whether upon
the Foot of their own Measures, or of
any other.

It was not difficult to find out Men,
among the many, who might think
their Merits greater than their Re-
ward, to whom such a Confidence
might be committed, and who, either
for private Interest, or worse Designs,
might be willing to see things take a
new Turn.

The *STAFF*, who justly obtain'd the
Character formerly given a great Man,
that he was *frugal of the Queen's Money,*
and prodigal of his own, had fallen into
that Misfortune, which it is impossible
any Man, who shall be intrusted with

the keeping the Nation's Treasure, can ever avoid, *viz.* not to answer the craving of all those that would, or think they ought to have, Share of it; the Consequence of which is, that all those who could not obtain Money or Places, or not all the Money or Places, which they thought fit to demand, became shagreen and malecontent with the *Staff*; nay, some thought fit to shew themselves so to the *Staff*, and to the Queen also; in which their want of Duty was added to their Injustice to the *Staff*.

That the Court was full of such Men as these, cannot be wonder'd, when the avaritious Temper of some of those, who appeared for Men of Interest in the Government, shall be considered.

Among these, we find the first Court Discontents began, and, as was hinted in our first Part of this History, they made loud Complaints, that the *Staff* was not vigorous enough in pursuing the Victory he had obtained over the *Whigs*; it seems these Men, like the *French Batalions* at *Barcelona*, having taken the Town by Storm, claim'd their Right of the Pillage; they alledg'd the constant Customs of War, as well a Party War as other, that, when the Victory was gain'd, they should fall upon the Plunder; and it was an

unpardonable Error in the *Staff*, that he was continually inflexible to all their Importunities.

What Representation of this Backwardness in displacing the *Whigs*, these Men made to the Queen, and what Influence it had at Court, has been mentioned in the *First Part* of this History; but it is necessary to enquire into some of the Degrees, by which that Influence grew strong enough to supplant the *Staff* at Court; who were the Agents; and on what Principle.

Upon the Complaint, as above, for displacing the *Whigs*, and the *Staff* adhering to his own Measures, it was to be observ'd, that several Removes were made without the Knowledge, or at least without the Concurrence of the *STAFF*; nay, against the most pressing Representations of the *Staff*.

As this was an Evidence of a new Interest, form'd upon the Foot of an Independence on the *Staff*; so it was an Evidence, that this new Interest had gotten footing *somewhere*, and was growing to a Magnitude, which might, in its Time, be superiour to the *Staff* himself; being already able to shock him in his Administration, and lead him, in some Cases, where the *Staff* would be oblig'd to follow.

There were always some wiser than the rest in every Sett of Men in the World, and yet we find some of these overrul'd against their Judgments, by the Majority of their Associates; there were several Men of Honour among those warm People, who press'd them not to carry their Disputes up to a Breach with the *White-Staff*; and were it not that I should seem to flatter, I should name the Man; but Justice must take Place, what Censures soever follow. It must be own'd for Truth, that the Person who now suffers most deeply in the general Calumny of the Transactions which followed; not only has the least Share in the Conduct, and none at all in the guilty Part; but, with great Importunity, perswaded against the breaking with the *STAFF*, on the Occasions above: He told them, that though the *STAFF* might not do every thing they desired; yet that, perhaps, he saw farther into things than they saw; that he might be slow in the Execution of what they desired to be done; but that they might, perhaps, with more Patience, either obtain what they desir'd, or be convinc'd by such Reasons as the *Staff* would give them, that it was not convenient; that to break entire-

ly

ly with him, was to leave them all exposed to the Resentment of the Party, who stood ready to discover both; that perhaps the *STAFF* would, in Time, appear more complying; and, in the mean time, that they had better comply with him, than break with him.

But the secret Part of this History is, that there is a Woman in the Bottom of all this Matter; and as a Robbery in which the weaker Sex is concern'd is said to be most bloody, so a Plot, in a female Management, will be impetuous. His Lordship found them all untractable to his wholesome Advice, and not to be mov'd by Intreaties or Perswasions, and only err'd in being carry'd down the Stream by the Purse and the Mitre.

This Recapitulation is made necessary by what went before, and brings me back to the Conduct of the *Jacobites* till this Time: Those easy People had supinely join'd in with the *Staff*, obsequious to his Measures, and blindly submitting to all his Dictates, waiting the good Hour when they should see what none but such a Sett of Men as they, could have had Folly enough to think tolerable, *viz.* that when the Queen should dethrone Herself, the *Staff* resign to the Duke of P——th, the Ministry

nistry turn *Popish*, and Her Majesty give up the Church, which Her Zeal to maintain had cost Her so many uneasy Thoughts, and carry'd Her through so many Difficulties and Hazards.

These things were so preposterous, that it must remain a Wonder to all thinking Men, that these People could continue at all under any such Delusion; but any one might have assur'd himself they could not last long. The *Jacobites*, as is observ'd, began to be impatient, and to suspect, that they were dup'd by the *Staff*, and look about for other Hands to engage with; the Reasons were indeed cogent, which gave 'em Suspicions.

They saw the *Staff* had brought the War to a Conclusion; and although the *Whigs* thought fit to exclaim against the Peace; yet they, (the *Jacobites*) when they came to examine the Particulars, found their Cause was wholly abandon'd. They found the *French* King had obtained his Ends at the Expence of the Pretender; and that, to set up King *Philip*, he had pull'd down the Pretender; they found effectually, by the Part which the *French* King acted abroad, that he had entirely laid aside any Thoughts for their Master; and that he bound himself in such a Manner, as no Christian King ever broke, never to concern himself in
their

their Master's Cause; they found that they had no Hopes in the *French* King's Honour to them, but what must be founded on the greatest Perfidy and Dishonour in the World; and that, to keep a verbal Promise to them, he must, in the most infamous Manner in the World, break all the Affe- verations, Protestations, Renunciations, &c. that it was possible for a Prince to make.

But suppose, for their Encouragement, they could think him perfidious to others, and true to their Master; they next enquir- ed into the Posture of his Affairs, and his Circumstances in the World; either he had made a good Peace, or a bad Peace; either he needed a Peace, or needed not.

If, as the *Whigs* say, the King of *France* was at the Door of Ruin; that another Campaign had overwhelm'd him and all his Kingdoms; and that he was not able to have held out another Year; then it must be undeniably true, that he stood in great Need of a Peace.

If then he stood in such Need of a Peace, it was not likely that he would break it a- gain for their Master, whose Interest was desperate, and placing on the Throne so difficult, as that, in his highest Prosperity, he could never bring it to pass: If, on the other Hand, he did not stand in Need of a Peace, why did he give up so much to ob- tain it? Yet

Yet farther; they consider'd that either the *French* King had obtain'd a good Peace, or submitted to a bad one; if a good one, he could support the Suggestion of his being willing to break it; if a bad one, why then have the *Whigs* been so warm in complaining against it?

These things first open'd the Eyes of the *Jacobites* in this Nation, and from the repeated Accounts they had from abroad, how impossible it was to obtain any Assistance from the King of *France*; but that, on the contrary, he had oblig'd himself to acknowledge the *Hanover* Succession, and never to oppose the same: By which Action, whenever he should perform the same, they knew he would put it out of his Power, or the Power of all the *Popish* Nations, or Kings in *Europe*, to set up the Pretender: I say, by these things they were thought to despair, and that with a great deal of Justice, of any Expectation for their Master, or his Cause, from the *White Staff*.

The same Arguments which open'd the Eyes of those stupify'd People the *Jacobites*, must, and will, in time, silence the Tongues of those Men, who would still persuade us, that the *Staff* was in the Interest of the Pretender; and till they return to the Use of their Reason in those things, the Conclusions they draw from Passions mov'd by Party, are of no Weight at all, or worth any Observation.

The

The Reason of the last Peace; the Manner of its Transacting; the Circumstances moving to it; the Authority doing it; and all the Objections made about it, are Things not now before me, they have been Debated and Determin'd in Parliament. But thus much belongs to this *Secret History*, as it concerns the Interest of the Pretender, *viz.* That so much was done as effectually convinc'd the *Jacobites*, that they were abandon'd by *France*, and made after off by the *Staff*; that the first had given the Pretender up, and the last had made the *Hannover* Succession be recogniz'd by the only Person in the World, that could have done any thing to make it unsecure, and the *Jacobites* were so effectually convinc'd of this, that from that time forward they mortally hated the *Staff*, and never slip't any Occasion of letting him know it; and yet in saying this I cannot blame the *Jacobites*, for they had Reason to do so: Other Ministry's oppress'd them, double tax'd them, and fenc'd the Nation against them, but still they had something to hope from their faithful and powerful Ally the King of *France*, but this damn'd *Staff*, to make use of their own Expression, gave them the *Coup de*

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Grace,

Grace, gave them a mortal Stab in the tenderest and most sensible Part, tying their powerful Friend, on whom their Master subsisted, on whom their Cause depended, Hand and Foot, from ever being either willing, or able to help them.

Thus the *Staff*, even by this Peace, of which such Complaint is made, struck at the Root of *Jacobites*, and destroy'd the very Foundation of their Hopes; all that could retain the Name of *Jacobitism* in the World, was only to be found in the Intreagues of Parties at home, where if there was any real danger of it at all it was owing to the unnatural Warmth with which private Persons perswade one another, upon the account of their Differences about Places at Court, Interest in their Prince, Property, Party and Religion.

The *Jacobites* being reduced to this Condition, it is no Wonder that when they found any Discontents and Uneasiness between those who had the Administration of Affairs in their Hands, they immediately fell in with one Side to blow up the Coal, and prevent the healing the Wound, which indeed would have been their Ruin.

But

But a Question offers it self to be spoken to here, *viz.* If the *Staff* had been in the Interest of the Pretender, why then upon the Breach at Court, of which mention has been so often made in these Histories, did the *Jacobites* not close with the *Staff*, but universally to a Man, take part with his Supplanters? Some infer from thence, that all in the Project of the New Court Faction, were in the Secret, and had taken Measures for the Interest of the Pretender, which I do not allow, neither was my Lord ———, who has had his Share in the Opinion of that Kind, given any just occasion for that Censure, other than what is already mention'd of entertaining and employing *Jacobite* Instruments, but having not the same Genius to manage the *Jacobites* as the *Staff* had shewn in the Passages above, and which is more, not the same Opportunity; he has left himself the more exposed to that Calumny than the *Staff* did.

For now the *Jacobites* were alarm'd at their former Usage, and began to speak of making Terms for themselves, if the *Staff* stood in need of their help, when Men were number'd by the Pole, and not by the Weight they bore in the

Nation : *Those Men stood* in need of them both ways, and as they could not have them at so cheap a Rate as the *Staff*, it was more reasonable to think they might bid high for them, and perhaps engage with them farther than they were ever likely to be able to perform. So that on these Accounts possibly there might be more Ground for the Nation of the Danger of the Pretender, than there could be under the Administration of the *Staff*. This is farther evinc'd from the Nature of the Alliance between the *Jacobites* and the *New Party*, and from the Character of those who had the Helm of that Affair, or at least who had the chief Hand in forming the *New Party*.

The principal occasion of the Peoples misgrounding at this time their Censures, arises from their mistaking the Person of him who was to be their *Prime Minister*, which (except to a few) is a Mystery not yet discovered. Should I say, perhaps, that it was not in this or that Person, the Readers on the other side will suppose me entering upon the Defence of another Person of Honour, who they think fit to treat rudely enough ;
but

but the Saddle must be set on the right Horse.

The *New Staff*, none will suppose, was design'd or desir'd to be the Person reasonably to be imagin'd, that the Chief Minister that was to devolve upon one into whose Hands they never intended the *Staff* it self should come, and who if he had come, and who if he had undertaken it, they were sure would never come into their Measures, or guide the Administration their way; the Person mention'd above, whom they strive to throw it upon, tho' he had the misfortune to be drawn from the *Staff*, to whom he was always before most firmly ty'd, yet was Master of more Judgment than to appear; the Design they pass'd at, and however over-rul'd, yet must have that Justice done him as to observe, that the Pretender was never oblig'd to him for any thing, and therefore the Chief Ministry then devolved on a Woman, a Priest, or a *Purse-bearer*. Time may give us farther Light into the Reasons there were to judge where it would Center, for that a little time with the Schemes they had laid, would have hung together, which indeed would not have been much longer

ger than they did, tho' the Death of the Queen had not interven'd.

If Characters would give any Light unt^o Things of this Nature, it might be needful to know the Disposition of these Three, that from thence the Judicious may enquire, whether what has been said, relating to the intercourse between them and the late *Staff*; and also relating to the Methods which these Three had prescrib'd for the future Government of Things is fit to be believ'd or not: The first of these was of the subtle Sex, Cunning, but willing to be thought much more so than she was; she had insinuated her self into Favour, more by the want of Merit in those that went before her, than by any real Significance in her self: Her first Court was made to her Advantage, by the large Field of Scandal she had to range over, in the Character of her Predecessors, her Royal Mistress, the Patern of every amicable Quality, and the true Patroness of Vertue, naturally abhorring every Crime, could not avoid having some growing Esteem for her, who daily detected the Wickedness of those who long before had abus'd the Goodness of their Benefactor, every Insolence which a
proud

proud Woman or two had push'd them upon, and every Act of Ingratitude, which appear'd in their Conduct, as it came to the Ears of the Person against whom it was committed, fail'd not to gain to this She-Artist the same Ground in the Persons Favour which the other had lost ; and if the detecting the Conduct of the most unkind Woman in the World, pass'd for a Test of Vertue, in a Mind enamour'd with every thing that had a resemblance of the best Things, it was not to be wonder'd at, since the very opposing her self to those who were so much worse than her self, made her appear in a different O:b, and shew her self as much better than she really was, as the other were worse than they should have been.

The first Step she took for her own Advancement, was to fall upon those who had been the Instruments of doing her good, which Vice she was the more to blame for, from the excuse she made for it, *viz.* That the Persons she supplanted were guilty of it before her ; she preserved her Interest in the favour of her Mistress, by the same Methods by which she obtain'd it, but when she improv'd it to oppose the *Staff*, she wounded

wounded both the Queen and her self, and the struggle it produc'd in the Breast of Her Majesty, between her Justice and her Affection, can no otherwise be express'd than by that Black which now the Nation wears for the Consequences of it.

The Second of these was of the Church, but of that sort who neither bring it Honour, or do it Service, like as Dr. *Sacheverel*, but of much more dangerous a Quality, by how much his Capacities and Interest infinitely exceeded him, unsufferably haughty superrogant and enterprizing, restless and indefatigable in pursuing his Design, and ambitious beyond Measure in their exorbitant Extent, vain of directing the greatest Heads, and his Envoy never remitted the resistance of those who declin'd his Schemes.

The *Staff* had frequently admitted him to the Concerts of publick Matters, but seeing the precipitancy of his Temper, kept him at *Bay* as to Secrets, and acted with reserve to him in the *Arcana*. Impatient of this Treatment, he strove all the ways possible to remove the Diffidence, and obtain to be Tutor to the Prime Minister, which the *Staff*, not used to Leading-Strings, could not be brought

brought to : He left no Politick Method unessay'd to bring this to pass ; but still the *Staff* was too old for him.

His Temper being less able to bear an Affront than to give one, and his Warmth carrying him sometimes out of his own Government, he laid his own Character too open in his Heat, and by the Methods he took to bring himself in, help'd to convince the *Staff* of the necessity of keeping him out, while he appear'd an Ecclesiastick, and like a true Christian Bishop, confin'd himself to that just Concern for the Church, which every Man in his Station ought to have : His Excursions pass'd for Religion, and his private and most pernicious Crimes were cover'd by that which some call Zeal, but when the States-Man appear'd beneath the Cape, they must have been very much Torch-lighted who could not have discern'd the very Sense of all sorts of Tyranny in every Step of his Conduct ; and that it was even more natural to his Temper than to his Profession.

His abhorrence of a mild Government, and aversion to the Liberty of the Subjects, gave just Reason to believe he would be for the Pretender, were it but from a meer Inclination to be Arbitrary ;

and some have thought that the Contempt which he shew'd for the *Protestant Succession*, was more the product of his Hatred to the Constitution than to the House of *Hannover*. I will not say he was in any concerted League with the Court of *Barleduc*, but if I should say I believe he was not in that Interest, it must be spoken with more Charity than Sincerity.

The *Staff*, who was always a profess'd Enemy to rash Councils, had never made it his Choice to differ with him, knowing that he was not a Man that one would choose for an Enemy, altho' he was a Man one would be sure to overcome ; but his very Disposition drove the *Staff* to an absolute necessity of opposing him, or of falling with him.

Such was his Gust for an Arbitrary Government, that he made all moderate Measures appear Criminal, and arraign'd the Clemency of the Administration, as a Negligence of the *Staff*, and an Omision of Duty, and with an Impetuosity natural to his Temper, He was one of the first who fell upon the *Staff*, plowing with the Heifer, found a Cabal in the Administration, which opposed all the Measures of the Prime Minister,
and

and acted independent of him, upon whom the general Calumny of their Action lay.

This explains the meaning of what was said in the first Part of this History, *viz.* That the *Staff* was really out of his Power long before he was out of his Post, and that Things were carry'd over his Belly, which however he bears the Reproach of, he had no other Concern in than that he submitted to bear them in Duty to Her Majesty, who was inclin'd at first to believe these Men meant honestly, and that so much Folly could not belong to a Man, whose Conduct she had seen Reason to have formerly so good an Opinion of, the Misfortune was, that Her Majesty lived just to see she was mistaken, but not long enough to resent it.

The Character of the Purse is too well known to dwell upon, and scarce to be enter'd upon with Decency, I take no liberty with his Moral or Personal Infirmities in Times past, which may serve to convince, that the present Business is not to blast the Men, but to mention so much of the Truth as is needful to make them known: It is enough to say that the Opinion the other Confederated Persons had of him, and

for which they embark'd him, was founded on his Power, not his Capacity, and he he gave more Weight to them by his Office than his Interest. In State Matters he was rather an Agent than an Employer, and was in Reality among them no more than that Thing which *Hudibras* says *wise Men work with*.

His Passion for a hot and furious management of Things carry'd him away from his Union with the *Staff*, to whom he had a million of Obligations. and the hopes of being Prime Minister in an Arbitrary Despotick Administration, led him to push at the *Staff*, with the Hazard of Queen, Constitution and Succession: It is thought that Avarice led this Person faster to an Ambition, and that he did not so much aspire at the Honour as at the Profit of his Party. Hence *Cromwell*, as *Oliver* was justly said to be an Usurper, tho' without a Crown, so he doubted not to obtain the Ministry without the *Staff*, in which however some People scandalize his Understanding, and thinks his Politicks were as weak as his Eye-sight.

This *Junctio* of the New Party are those of whom the former part of this History has said so much, and to whom the
the

the *Staff* directed the Speech mention'd at his recess.

It is said by Fame, that Measures were concerted by some of those, not only to the prejudice of the *Protestant Succession*, but even of the *Protestant Possessor*, and that some Progress was made in the Matter, but I will not load them with Things which I think have their Foundation in the common Prejudices, unless farther Proof was made of the Particulars, neither shall this Discourse which I call a History, deviate into the Nature of Remarks upon their Conduct, or examine how far they have Grounds for such a Reproach.

It is true, two sorts of People fell in with these Men; *First* the *Jacobites* to a Man, who having found themselves made a Jest of by the *Staff*, thought this the way both to facilitate the Design they had laid for the Pretender, and at the same time to revenge themselves of the *Staff*, for making Tools of them, as has been said already: And *Secondly*, All those who having been Malecontent at the Administration of the *Staff* upon any other Account, either publick or private, who thought that either he had not done them Justice in their particular Concerns,

Concerns, or that by deposing him *Staff*, they might make their way into the upper end of the Administration, or act with more Satisfaction in the Posts they then enjoy'd.

The Conjunction of the *Jacobites* had the same Effect upon them, which it had before upon the *Staff*, viz. it open'd the Mouths of the *Whigs* against those New Managers, as being in the Interest of the Pretender; I cannot say that there was not much more Reason for this Scandal at that time than there was in the Case of the *Staff*, because the *Jacobites* had gather'd Strength by the late Division, as in all divided Nations the Enemies of those Nations always do, and which was more, having been lately dupp'd and kick'd up and down by the *Staff*, till they became the common ridicule of the Court, they were even wiser and more wary, and pretended to stand upon Terms with those Men before they acted with them.

I must do that Justice to the other Party in the Ministry, who adher'd to these Men, to say, that whatever particular Measures they had in View, and which perhaps led them with more haste than speed, to break with the *Staff*, yet
that

that they never went into their several Measures, or entertain'd any Thought in favour of the Pretender, and therefore there is no doubt but had they continued some time longer, they must have parted from the Purse, as the *Staff* had done before them; for the Measures which the *Three* drove at, would no more have consisted with the Captain than it had done with the Colonel; and as the *Three* drove at all, it was impossible they could go long together, unless the Captain would have play'd the same desperate Game they were going on with, which it is plain, having not the same desperate Fortunes upon his Hands, he had neither occasion for, or Folly enough to be drawn into. And here it is worthy Remark, That the Friends of the *Staff* need look no farther back for a Reason, why they found themselves delay'd, and their Expectations not answer'd in Business of any sort, which they attended upon him for, and for the disappointment thereof they frequently entertain'd hard Thoughts of the *Staff*. It was ever his peculiar Aversion to keep People in suspense, who had their Requests depending on him, and the Dependance and Attendance, which

which is the languishing Deserts of those who have Expectation at Court, were always thought by him to be both unjust to them, and unnecessarily exacted by Ministers of State; but he had secret Restraints upon him from these Men, and from these Methods taken by a secret Party against him, which render'd him incapable of rendering those Services, and granting those Favours, which were even the just and customary Consequences of his Employ, and which those who preceded him had always in their Power.

These were some of the Reasons why several important Posts were kept vacant, and why Things proper to be determined were oftentimes delay'd: Why the Expectations, which many had just Reasons given them to entertain, could not be answer'd: Nay, why promis'd Favours were frequently left unperform'd, contrary to the Inclination, and perhaps to the Intention of the *Staff*.

Nay, to go farther, the displacing of many in Office, in whom there had appear'd neither want of Merit, or breach of Conduct, as to *Parries*, was owing to the Oppression of the *Staff*, by these Men who seem inclin'd to do several Things.

Things which perhaps would not otherwise have been done, as well to let the *Staff* see they could give a *Check* to him by their Interest; as also to bring the publick Odium of those Things upon him and his Administration, which was really due to their secret Influence.

All these Things served to convince the *Staff*, that while these Men obtain'd leave to encroach upon him in this manner, there was a necessity for Her Majesty to be convinc'd by some Means or other of the Mischief they aim'd at, and this at last appear'd impracticable, without his consenting to the remove of the *Staff*.

And indeed as *John Bull* was always found to be in his Services, when Things of such a nice Nature came before him, no Man can be so weak to believe he could be drawn into the Game, which these People were playing; it is true, he is now in the *Staff's* stead as to the *Odium* of those Practices, and the Current of the Times bears down all that can be said in his Defence: Our History therefore shall only enter this Caveat in his Favour in few Words, and leave it to Time to make the Truth of it appear, *viz.* he neither had Folly enough to engage in so preposterous an Attempt as

that of the Pretender, nor had he Ignorance enough to be led by the People, our History is now mentioning, into any thing whatsoever, and if he join'd with them in any Measures at all, it was on this Foot, That he knew them too well, not to believe he could one time or other turn them from their new Projects, or overturn them in the prosecution of them.

But to return to the *Staff*: Having said thus much of the People who oppos'd him, it is needful to begin where our first Part left off. I have mention'd the Measures they began to take, even while the *Staff* yet kept his Ground; how they acted with an independency as to the *Staff*, placed and displaced, put in and put out, not only without him, but against him, which brought the *Staff* to the necessity of delivering himself from hearing the Hatred and Calumny which that kind of Administration necessarily brings with it, and which, let whosoever be the Agent, is always sure to fall upon the Prime Minister: And this was one weighty Reason which made the remove of the *Staff* absolutely necessary to him.

While the said Remove was thus under his Deliberation, the *Staff* was not wanting to himself, in letting the Queen know

know what Hands she was falling into ; and to lay before Her Majesty a true State of Her Affairs, *viz.* What these Men aim'd at, to what their Management naturally tended, and what Extremities they would certainly reduce Things to ; how they would exasperate the People by the just Fears and Jealousies of the Succession, which their Conduct would infuse into them ; how they would allarm the Neighbouring Powers, who were intrusted in the Protestant Succession ; how they would certainly bring Her Majesty to a necessity of submitting to some mean Step, for the Satisfaction of Her Subjects, or of falling into these Measures, which this Faction would be fatal to the publick Peace, and dangerous to her Person and Government.

These Representations had wrought so far, as that it was very evident the Queen began to be mov'd, and Her Majesty, who was not so incapable of receiving just Impressions from Truth, clearly represented as Her Enemies imagin'd, had made some Steps towards convincing the World that She was not abandon'd to the Enchantments of the Cabal, but that She had both Eyes to see

when She was impos'd upon, and Resolution to resent it.

The first Discovery of this Alteration in the Q—— was seen by Her Majesty's disposing the *Staff*, as has been said, to the Astonishment and Surprize of the *Three*, of whom mention is made already: What Confusion this was to them; how they behav'd in it; what Exclamation they made when they came to talk together, after the Blow was given, these have been taken Notice of, and there the first Part of this History ended.

The subsequent Conduct of the *Three* cannot take up much room, seeing it contains but the History of four or five Days, and those being all Days of Confusion and Distraction, from the surprising Fate of Her late Majesty; which as it fill'd all Her Loyal and Faithful Subjects with Grief and affectionate Complains, so it necessarily cast this Faction into Terrors and Apprehensions of many Kinds.

They found themselves young in their Intreagues, disconcerted and undetermin'd in their Measures; they had not been long enough enter'd to have communicated their Designs, even to those who
were

were ready to come into them, or to have given Instructions to those to whom they had communicated their Designs: They had not had time so much as to form themselves, or to pitch upon the Instruments by which they were to act; as in other Cases popular Designs have been defeated for want of a Head, so those sunk of themselves for want of a Tail; they had not brought in their Men, or so much as intimated to the Men they had mark'd out their Intentions of bringing them in.

In every Step they had taken, they found that the late *Staff* was before them, which way soever they turn'd they found him in their Way, and prepar'd to supplant and countermine them; That his Interest was too strong for them to struggle with, and his Head too long for them to succeed in any Thing that he oppos'd them in. The Q—— had struck the killing Blow to them just before Death struck that fatal Blow on her Life, and they found themselves depriv'd of that Assistance which they depended on from their Interest in Her Majesty's Favour: So that the whole Frame of their Project was dis-jointed,
and

and not a Hand among them was able to set it together again.

In this Exigence they were likewise attended with that constant Companion of evil Designs, *viz.* Jealousy, and Distrust of one another, with apprehensions for their respective Safety and Fear, least every one should make his Peace at the expence of the rest.

By this time the Certainty of the Queen's Death stared in their Faces, the Constitution of their Country appear'd a formidable Enemy to all the Schemes which their New Confederates the *Jacobites* had pretended to lay before them: Not a Man of them had the Courage to stir Hand or Foot in favour of any Thing that oppos'd the *Protestant Succession*; and yet they saw plainly the Fate of all their Measures in that Succession, nay, even in the first proposal of it.

The Posts which one of them were in, depriv'd them of liberty of being passive; and the first active Part they could possibly appear in, would put the Knife to the Throat of their own Schemes, and be a delivering themselves up bound Hand and Foot into the Hands of their mortal Enemies *the Whigs*.

In this Distress the first Comfort they had

had was to see themselves abandon'd by all their Friends *to a Man*, especially of those who were not oblig'd by their Offices to shew themselves in publick. History has made no mention of their Female Assistant, save that *to do her Justice*, she faithfully discharged the Duty of her Place to the Person of the Q— in her last Extremities, and was a sincere Mourner for Her Majesty's Death, which she had indeed more Reason for than any Woman about the Court could pretend to.

The *Ecclesiastick* is said to have given a Loose to his Passion, which boiling up to Despair, caused him to go off the Stage *raving*, having neither Grace to repent of what was pass'd, or Patience to consider of what was to come.

The *Purse*, ever false to good Measures, and impotent in bad ones, discover'd the tottering Principles which he had always acted upon, and stood wavering between every Opinion; when the only Man among them, who might be call'd a Minister of State, and *as is observ'd*, had retain'd his *Senses* and Principles, took this occasion to speak, and *as I have been inform'd* by a few Words, dissolv'd all the Confederacy.

In our History he will be known by the
Name

Name of this Person, who Lord *John Bull* had broke with the *Staff*, and had unhappily adher'd to the *Purse*, and his Accomplices, in several Things, but Charity bids us believe, *especially by what follow'd*, that he did not enter with them into any of the Measures which aim'd at overturning the Constitution; *briefly*, that he was never in the Interest of the *Pretender*; and this being a History of Matter of Fact only, I am oblig'd to give a faithful Account of every Particular, as it appears in view, and as Information impowers me to write, let it acquit or condemn who it will: *History* is design'd to relate the Actions of Men, and if they have done well, who some People would have nothing well said of, or ill, who others think are always in the Right; the Historian has no more to do then to represent Things as they are, and let Men judge as they think fit. This Lord *John Bull*, as I have heard it related, finding the People I am speaking of in a general Confusion, and at a full stand in their Councils, as willing to do Evil as ever, but without Power to act, astonished at their own Circumstances, and especially at what they saw approaching, undertook to break in upon their Silence, in Words to the Purpose following :

He

He told them, ‘ That their Affairs
 ‘ were now in a new Situation; that
 ‘ they were no more to Discourse of what
 ‘ they were to do, as *Ministers of State*,
 ‘ and in Concert for the Carrying on
 ‘ former Measures, but that they were
 ‘ to act as *Members of the Nobility of*
 ‘ Great Britain, and as *Privy-Counsellors*
 ‘ to the Nation.

‘ That all Measures were now un-
 ‘ derstood to be Determined, and at a full
 ‘ Stop; and they were to Act as they
 ‘ might answer it to the Sovereign that
 ‘ should Succeed; that since it was
 ‘ but too certain, *as they might judge by*
 ‘ *the Report of the Physicians*, that Her
 ‘ Majesty was past Hope of Recovery,
 ‘ they were to consider Her as DEAD,
 ‘ and themselves as Acting NEW. After
 ‘ Her Decease, *He told them*, That he
 ‘ wonder’d to see any Hesitations about
 ‘ what was next to be done, the Laws
 ‘ and Constitutions of the People having
 ‘ so expressly laid down what was their
 ‘ Duty to do. *He told them*, He had
 ‘ heard much of the *Ministry* being for
 ‘ the *Pretender*, as it had been the Sub-
 ‘ ject of Popular Suggestion; but that he
 ‘ was always of Opinion, no greater
 ‘ Slander could be cast upon them: *That,*

H

‘ as

‘ as he was well assur’d, no Person there
 ‘ had entertained any Sentiments con-
 ‘ trary to the Common Good of the
 ‘ Kingdom, so no one can be at a Loss
 ‘ what Measures they were to enter upon,
 ‘ at the present juncture. *He told them,*
 ‘ they all knew that the Succession of
 ‘ the Crown was limited to the House
 ‘ of *Hanover*, That the Elector of *Brunf-*
 ‘ *wick*, being the eldest Branch of that
 ‘ House, was the Heir apparent; and
 ‘ besides, what their Duty oblig’d them
 ‘ to: He thought the Wisest Step they
 ‘ could take, was to declare themselves
 ‘ Early, as well to make effectual Provi-
 ‘ sion for the Peaceable Succession of the
 ‘ Right Heir, and letting the Successor
 ‘ have that seasonable Testimony of their
 ‘ Duty, as to convince the People, who
 ‘ had been Prejudic’d at their Conduct,
 ‘ that they had done them Wrong. *He*
 ‘ *told them*, that however he gave his
 ‘ own Opinion, he would Prescribe to
 ‘ none of them, but he might tell them,
 ‘ that as he had sincerely Abjured the *Pre-*
 ‘ *tender*, he never entertain’d any thought
 ‘ in his Favour; taking all the Notions
 ‘ of his Succeeding here to be Ridicu-
 ‘ lous, and the Schemes of those Men
 ‘ who had spoken favourably of his com-
 ‘ ing

' ing to the Crown, to be meer Amuse-
 ' ments, and no more; that as he never
 ' had any Design against the *Protestant*
 ' *Succession*, so whatever Treatment he
 ' might meet with from the Elector of
 ' *Hanover*, yet he would discharge his
 ' Duty to his Country, and do as an
 ' Honest Man ought to do.

' Besides *he reminded them* of the Penal-
 ' ties provided by the Acts of Parliament,
 ' especially on such of them as were by
 ' Office appointed to Administer the Go-
 ' vernment after the Decease of the Queen,
 ' and till the Arrival of the Successor:
 ' And how it was no' less than *Highb-*
 ' *Treason* for them to refuse or delay
 ' to proclaim the *Protestant Successor*.
 ' *He told them*, he did not say this to de-
 ' clare himself only, for he knew his
 ' Duty, and what he was always deter-
 ' min'd to do; but the Arguments he us'd
 ' were for their Safety and Advantage,
 ' not his own. He acknowledg'd, that he
 ' believ'd as things stood then, that upon
 ' the Arrival of the Successor, the *Whigs*
 ' would recover their Interest in the Ad-
 ' ministration, which he was Sorry for,
 ' not only on Account of his own parti-
 ' cular Affair, but on the Account of the
 ' Publick; but he declared that he would
 ' rather bring in the *Whigs* himself, tho'

‘ he was sure to be destroy’d by them,
 ‘ than be concern’d with any one in bring-
 ‘ ing in the *Popish Pretender*, which could
 ‘ have no other Effect, than the Ruin of
 ‘ his Country, and the Involving us all in
 ‘ a Civil War; making *Britain* a Field of
 ‘ Blood, and the Seat of a Desolating War.

It was easy to perceive that this discourse did not please those to whom he spoke; but the Juncture was so nice, that not one of them that ever I heard of durst declare himself; they saw the Danger that was before them, had no confidence in one another, and losing all the Courage they had pretended to before, they seem’d to joyn with Lord *John Bull* in all he had said, and shew’d a kind of an Allacrity, tho’ awkward, and dissembled, to that which inwardly wounded them to the Soul: However, having formally assented, I hear it was asked by one of them, what it was they had next to do; to which Lord *John Bull* answered directly thus,

‘ You see evidently the Case, the Queen
 ‘ is a Dead Woman, it is impossible in the
 ‘ Ordinary course of Nature that she can
 ‘ Recover, as you have heard from the
 ‘ Physicians just now: My opinion is,
 ‘ That we appoint a Council to Meet im-
 ‘ mediately, and Summon all the Mem-
 ‘ bers

‘ bers, whether of one Party or another;
 ‘ and propose to them the sending an Ex-
 ‘ press to *Hanover*, to give his Electoral
 ‘ Highness an Account of the Queen’s
 ‘ Condition, and to desire him to hasten
 ‘ over, in order by his presence to secure
 ‘ a Peaceable easy Accession to the Crown;
 ‘ and as to our selves, we must take our fate
 ‘ in the Next Reign, the present being
 ‘ evidently at the point of Expiration.

This would not be a faithful History, if it was not observ’d here, that the Historian does not affirm that this Discourse was really spoken Word for Word by Lord *John Bull*, having not the same assurance thereof, as of what has been mention’d to be said in the former part of this History, if respect to Lord *John* has made the Historian freer in relating what for his Lordships sake he Wishe were true, it is hoped this may be a fault more Pardonable, than omitting it would be if true.

Let it therefore be suppos’d to be spoken, or Words to that purpose, until it shall by a better Authority be contradicted, when if it appears a mistake, the Historian will acknowledge himself to be Misinform’d.

Till when, I go on with my Account as Fame deliver’d it to the Relater (*viz.*)
 that

that Lord *John Bull* having deliver'd himself in this manner, the Meeting broke up immediately; and that there was no room to Hesitate, one indeed seem'd to Regret the Necessity, and they say, rose up expressing himself softly, so as very few heard him to the purpose, *Well, if it must be so!* What further he said, or intended to say, I believe was not understood by any but himself: But as I observ'd, there was no room to Hesitate, the several Acts of Parliament in Force, and made on purpose for this Exigence, were so forcible, and had provided for every Circumstance in such a Manner, that there was no room for any Man, tho' never so much inclin'd to it, to offer the least Interruption at such a juncture; no Man durst open his lips against what *Lord John* had propos'd, or so much as shew himself backward in the propos'd application to the *Protestant Successor*, which accordingly went on as was Resolv'd.

This confirms the Opinion of those who argu'd from the Solidity of the Constitution, that there could not be so much ground for the publick Apprehensions of the *Pretender*, as others alledged; the Laws having so effectually fortify'd the *Protestant Succession*, as that

no Man would be hardy enough, at the Demise of the Queen, to venture in Favour of the *Pretender*, so much as to move one Step. And so it has proved.

As many will be angry at the Justice done here to Lord *John Bull*, and, perhaps, be the willinger to have it believed, that he was not in the *Jacobite* Interest: So, on the other Hand, some may be displeas'd that I should suggest, that others were inclin'd to the *Pretender*: But the Charge is not lay'd here so as to accuse one, or excuse the other so positively, but that if any one of them had, in Season, openly declared themselves, our Secret History should not have fail'd to done them Justice in the same Manner; and altho' I cannot give the like Testimony to them, yet I will not say, That they had really a Design against the Succession; if any one can prove it upon them, I shall leave it to the Sequel to censure or acquit them.

This last Scene ended all the Transactions of the Cabal above-mention'd; and they never acted in a Body afterwards; and there also our Secret History must make another Stop. The *Purse*, tho' not first in the Proposal it self, yet as he came into it with Lord *John Bull*,
so

so he *over-acted* all his Contemporaries, endeavouring by an Officious Haste to anticipate those, who from better Principles were far more steady in the *Hannover* Interest: And while Lord *John*, who, with an old *English* Plainness, had declared himself from a true Foundation, in a blunt and direct Manner, was yet made the *Butt* for the Populace to shoot Scandal at; and was run upon with the usual Rudeness of the Party; the *Purse* Carrying himself with an Abject, Fawning Compliance, seem'd to be in a fair Way of being receiv'd into Favour.

He went on in this Manner a great Way; nay, some say, he was not in the least backward, when the said Lord *John Bull* was dismiss'd from his Office, but seem'd to satisfy himself with any one's Falling, while he flatter'd himself that he should Stand: But the Hypocrisy which carried him so far, had not the Success of Carrying him farther, as he had the Weakness to expect, and he fell un pity'd of every Side.

In these Consultations it was remarkable, that as these Men left the *Jacobites*, so now the *Jacobites* left them, from whence the Design of *Jacobitism* in general may have this brief Observation
made

made of it, *viz.* That all the Hopes the Partisans of that Cause ever saw Reason to entertain, depended upon the Divisions, Factions, and Animosities, which they either found or created among the People of this Nation. It is evident, that upon the Accession of his present Majesty to the Crown, the very Name of *Jacobitism* sinks in the Nation; the unanimous Agreement of all Parties among the People, and their Satisfaction in the Person and Government of the King, drowns the very Thoughts of a *Pretender*; and that which was, a few Days past, so Formidable, and fill'd us with terrible Apprehensions, is not now spoken of but with Ridicule and Contempt. We are now no more alarm'd at the *Pretender's* Neighbourhood, or the Power of the *French* King to put him upon the Nation; we do not measure the Distance of *Bar-le-Duc* from the Sea, or calculate how far he is removed from *France*; while we are unanimous in our Affection and Zeal for the Publick, while we are united and resolved in the Interest of the *Protestant* Successor, who we enjoy, we are out of all Danger; and I infer from thence, that to preserve the present Unanimity,

and prevent future Divisions among our People, is the only Way to prevent our being again in Danger of a Pretender.

All this while the *Staff* had given him to give Thanks to Heaven, that he had drawn off from these Men in so seasonable a Time, and so open a Manner, that Impartial Men might have Room left, and Reason given them to see to whose Account they ought to place the violent Things which had been Transacted in the Administration, not only after his Recess, but for a long Time. It is true, the *Staff* could not expect that the Party-Men, who found it convenient for their other Designs, that, whether True or False, the *Staff* should be Censur'd as guilty of all these Things. I say, the *Staff* could not expect that they would be silenced by these Incidents, however pungent; for it has not been the Custom of these Men to cease a Charge with good Reasons, which was first raised without. But as the Reason of unjust Censure is generally founded in a Resolution to injure the Person on whom it is passed, whether Right or Wrong, so neither will those who pass

pass those Censures be satisfy'd with the most clear Vindication. It is not therefore for the sake of such Men, that this Secret History is so particular in this Part, but for the sake of those who are willing to be rightly inform'd of Things, and to pass their Judgment according to Evidence, not according to Prejudices, and the Interest of the Parties.

The *Staff*, I say, having acted as is before Noted, and parted from these Men, now saw the Advantage of it, and had great Reason to be thankful that it had been so, and had Lord *Bull* drawn out at the same time, it had done more to clear up his Character to the World, as to these Things, than all was able to do afterwards: But it was his Misfortune not to see into the People he was engag'd with till afterwards.

Nor can the Enemies of the *Staff*, bring the least Cavil against the Sincerity of the Parting with those People, or charge him with any design in it, as they would very fain do, unless they would make us believe the *Staff* had the *Second Sight*, and knew of the Queen's Death, which I have reason to say, was a perfect Surprize, not only

to the whole Court, but even to her Majesty her self; the Queen not having been in a better State of Health for some Years, than she had been in for some Weeks, before the surprizing Distemper which carry'd her off, in which the whole Court will bear Witness to the Truth of this History.

Again, it is evident not only the *Staff*, but the Queen her self had begun to take some Measures, as was mention'd in the former part of this History, for the overthrow of the New Faction, and for such a Management of Affairs, as would have made the whole Kingdom perfectly easy, have secured the Interest of the House of *Hanover*, to their own full Satisfaction, and have entirely remov'd all the Nations feares, either of *France* or of the *Pretender*; and had not Things been carry'd here by Methods, and with Hands that are not at present proper for this History to speak off, I should have entred farther into this part, and have laid down the Schemes of the New Administration which her late Majesty had resolv'd on, and which the *Staff* would have effected in a short time, which when a Convenient time shall be found, will surprize

prize the World and alter their thoughts, not of the *Staff* only, but of the General Management of things during all that Administration; and above all, would make those People a little ashamed of themselves, who have given such Characters of her late Majesty, as if she was incapable of Acting any thing of her self, or of Judging of the Affairs of her Government, but just as she was led by those in whose Hands she had been pleas'd to place the Administration.

It must be acknowledg'd, that altho' when her Majesty had entrusted the Administration in such Hands as she thought capable to Manage the same, she was as willing to Confide entirely in their Fidelity and Vigilance, as a Wise Prince ought to be, who had seen no reason to suspect the Ability or Integrity of her Servants; yet they will neither do Justice to her Majesty, or to her Ministry, who do not acknowledge that the last Ministry endeavour'd more than any Ministry that went before them, to have her Majesty take Cognizance of her own Affairs, and to Act with a free Agency, doing nothing of Moment, without her Majesty's having
first

first been faithfully told the Circumstances of the Thing, and been left to Act therein, without Importunities or Unseasonable Pressings, as had been the Case in former times.

Those who would do Justice to her Majesties Memory, cannot do less than acknowledge this, and that the Authority in Acting, and particular Cognizance of Things before they were acted, was never so entirely given up to the Ministry as has been pretended; of which a further account may in due time be given to the World.

If any are offended at this brief, but Impartial History of Secret Things, they must be at the same liberty to Write against it, that I have taken to Write it; what has been yet done that way, has appeared so Weak, and so Malicious, that I see no reason to say one word in Replication: Nothing has been offered to refute this Secret History, or to oppose the Matters of Fact as related; as to the Gloss put upon them by Party-Men, it is nothing to the History; my Business is to relate, not to dispute; if what is contain'd in this Secret History is not True, no doubt we shall hear of it in Publick; and

and if truth is found in it, many false Things and foul Practices of Men will be thereby detected, when the Cabal of Writers have done reviling: If any thing shall be found in what they say, of Weight enough to deserve notice, a time may be taken to say what is needful.

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